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DESIRED AND ACTUAL FAMILY SIZE IN THE PHILIPPINES

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Abstract

This paper is an analysis of several items on ideal and desired family size from the Philippine National Demographic Survey of 1968. The method of analysis is cross tabulation of the selected items with variables on age, actual family size, socio-economic status, and infant mortality.

The results show distinct age differentials for ideal and desired family size, with younger women preferring smaller families. Although the percentage of women preferring families of replacement size is negligible at all ages, there are greater percentages of younger women desiring families of 3-4 children.

Frequency of newspaper reading and family income are used as indicators of socio-economic status, and women in the higher SES groups desire smaller families. Income differentials are not as striking as those for newspaper reading, however.

Ideal and desired family size are positively related to actual family size, particularly in the higher SES groups. Desired family size is positively related to number of deceased children, but the relationship disappears when the number of living children is controlled for. Finally, there seems to be no relationship between attitudes about infant mortality and desired family size.

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A considerable amount of research has been done in recent years on the relation of ideal and desired family size to actual family size. Such research is based on the premise that couples' attitudes on what is the proper size family are a good predictor of future child-bearing practices. As the proportion of planned families increases, preferences in family size become an important component of fertility behavior(Goldberg, Sharp and Freedman, 1959).

In one of the earliest studies of its kind in the U.S., Westoff, Mishler and Kelly (1957) found that the desired number of children was an extremely good predictor of actual number of children at the aggregate level, though quite poor at the individual level. In their series of studies of couples in the Detroit area, Freedman, Goldberg and Sharp (1955) found that ideal family size always exceeded actual family size in the sample surveyed, again on a group basis. The Indianapolis Study showed similar results, with the average number of children lower than the average number wanted at the time of marriage (Whelpton and Kiser, 1954).

Such a relationship between preferred and actual family size has been documented in other economically advanced countries as well. Some researchers, however, doubt the validity of measures of ideal and desired family size, when applied to developing nations of the world. Hauser (1967) has been one of those most critical of the use of KAP survey material to demonstrate the desire for smaller families on the part of couples in the developing nations. He feels that questions on ideal family size may be meaningless in societies with traditional attitudes toward life. Questions of that nature, he argues, are only valid in so-called post-Newtonian societies where man feels he has control over his life in general, and his family size in particular. In the absence of rationality and forethought, the respondent's answer to a survey item on ideal family size may be solely designed to please the interviewer, or to save face in the situation.

Such criticisms of attitudinal surveys are valid in general, and should be considered when interpreting results. This does not mean, however, that KAP surveys are of no use to those formulating population policy in the developing countries. It is not an "all or nothing" situation for a country to be either pre or post Newtonian. Some segments of a population are exposed much earlier in the process of development to Western thought patterns. Some would argue the mere asking of questions on a survey on family size attitudes forces the respondents to consider the possibility of choice in determining family size, whether or not they had considered the possibility previously.

It would seem, then, that the use of sample survey data on family size attitudes can be justified in fertility analysis, so long as the limitations of such data are thoroughly considered.

Another problem of surveys is the question of cross-sectional versus cohort methods. Since it is difficult to follow a cohort through all or part of the child-bearing period, most fertility surveys are cross-sectional, and couples are interviewed at some point of parity. On items relating to ideal or preferred number of children, there is always the influence of the number of children already born. This effect is more pronounced with couples in the older ages, since respondents are hesitant to state that they would actually prefer fewer children than they already have.

Some studies have attempted to get an ex post facto measure of the couple's desired number of children as they recall it from the time of marriage. (Muhsam and Kiser, 1956) The accuracy of the response depends on the memory of the couple, and is also affected by the number of children already born. The experiences of birth and child rearing may alter significantly a respondent's attitudes on family size from the time of marriage.

The use of cohort studies also has its limitations, due to the relatively long period of time from marriage to menopause for the average couple. Vast changes may have occurred during that period in the social, cultural, and economic factors affecting fertility. A cohort study conducted during a period of rapid change may be of little value in projecting fertility performance of future cohorts, and prediction has been one of the primary purposes of studies on preferred family size.

Several fertility studies conducted in the Philippines in recent years have included sections on ideal family size. Nazaret and Chavez (1964) found that for women under age 35, ideal number of children exceeded actual number of children. For women over 35, however, the actual exceeded the ideal. They argue from this that it shows a need for fewer children by Philippine women. Their survey also showed the modal ideal number of children to be 4 for both urban and rural women, except for rural women in the upper age group, where the modal ideal number was 5. Concepcion's study of 1966 showed that younger women desired smaller families, though there were no indications that they were beginning to match their smaller desired family size with fewer births. She also found no relation between economic status and desired family size, though the data for the study did not include Manila. Laing, using a method designed to measure ideal number of children under ideal conditions of contraception, found an expected average of 4.31 children per couple.

The purpose of the present paper is to relate attitudes on ideal and desired family size to a number of other variables, using data from the 1968 National Demographic Survey of the Philippines. The variables used for this paper are as follows:

1. Best Number of children for a couple.
2. Number of children desired by age 45, if you could have the number desired, starting married life over.
3. Preferred number of children at present age of the woman.
4. Is the present number of children sufficient?

It is difficult to classify each of the items as a measure distinct from one of the other three. In much of the research on family size attitudes, distinctions are made between "ideal", "desired", "preferred",and "expected" family size. To label certain items of a survey as measuring one of the above concepts as opposed to another requires a degree of arbitrariness. This seems especially true when the survey under analysis was conducted in a traditional culture, in a language different from our own, and where the basic idea of couples having control over family size may indeed be a new concept for many.

Throughout this paper, item 1, "best number of children for a couple", is taken as an indicator of attitudes on "ideal" family size. "Desired" and "preferred" family size will be considered synonomous here, and the second and third items are taken as measures of this variable. This is not to imply that "ideal" and "desired" are totally separate on the survey and do not overlap. It does seem, however, that the wording of the items is such that, for purposes of analysis, the distinction can be made. Ideal family size implies a more general attitude toward the number of children the average couple in society should have, while desired family size reflects more the respondent's attitude of her own particular situation. Both are hypothetical in nature, and are compared in the paper with measures of actual family size.

There was one item on the survey on "expected" family size, but the results are outside the range of what could be considered reasonable responses. Over 11% of those sampled gave a response of "25 or more" as their expected number of children. Whether these incorrect responses are due to misunderstanding of the question by many respondents or to errors in coding is not clear. The item is, nevertheless, of no use for analysis and might cast some doubt on the validity of the other attitudinal items used on the survey.

Through cross tabulation of relevant variables, the following hypotheses were tested for this paper:

1. Age of wife is positively related to ideal and desired family size, with younger women preferring smaller families.
2. Ideal, as well as actual, family size is related inversely to socio-economic status.
3. Ideal and desired family size are positively related to actual family size, particularly in higher socio-economic groups.
4. Experience of infant mortality will cause an increase in desired and actual family size, as couples overcompensate for the deceased children by having "buffer" children.

Results

Table 1 shows the number of children considered "ideal" by the sample, as well as the "number of children desired by age 45".

Table 1. Ideal and Desired Number of Children

Number of Children	Best No. for a Couple (%)	No. Desired by Age 45 (%)
0-2	2.6	6.4
3-4	26.0	29.9
5-6	37.0	34.6
7 & over	26.8	21.0
No Response	7.6	8.1
Total	100.0	100.0

The most immediately evident fact from this table is that Philippine couples have a distinct preference for large families. Previous studies on Philippine fertility have shown this, but it is worth noting once again with the present data. Although there is little difference between ideal and desired family size, the desired number of children is slightly less than the ideal. 28.6% of the sample gave 0-4 as the ideal number of children, while 36.3% desire a family of the same size. The modal category for both variables is 5-6 children.

Interpretation of the item on desired family size must be qualified by the fact that the question was worded as follows:

> "Children desired by age 45, if you could start married life over and have just the number you wanted."

Certainly the question could be taken quite differently by a woman in her early twenties just starting a family, and one in her late forties who had completed child bearing. For the above reason, when the variable is used in other sections of the paper, its relation with other variables is often studied in a manner controlling for age.

In a previous study by Concepcion on Philippine family size attitudes, younger women expressed a desire for fewer children. The results of the present survey confirm this finding on three questions.

From Table 2, we see that 38.5% of all women 12-24 give four or less children as the ideal number. This is a higher percentage than that expressed by the other three age groups. Approximately 30% of each of the other groups state four or less as the ideal number.

Tables 3 and 4 give two measures of the preferred number of children by the age of the woman. We would expect Table 4 to show wide age differentials, since it is based on the preferred number at the present age of the woman. 58.9% of those age 12-24 want 4 or less children,

Table 2. Best Number of Children by Age of Wife (%)

Best No. Of Children	Total	Age of Wife 12-24	25-34	35-44	44 +	NR
0-2	2.6	3.1	2.4	2.3	3.6	0.1
3-4	26.0	35.4	29.1	26.0	26.2	0.1
5-6	37.0	36.2	40.9	39.8	39.9	0.1
7 +	26.8	25.1	27.1	31.5	29.5	0.3
NR	7.6	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.8	99.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 3. Children Desired by Age 45 by Age of Wife (%)

Children Desired by Age 45	Total	Age of Wife 12-24	25-34	35-44	44 +	NR
0-2	6.4	7.4	5.5	6.2	8.4	0.0
3-4	29.9	43.8	35.0	27.6	29.6	0.0
5-6	34.6	35.7	41.1	35.6	35.4	0.5
7 +	21.0	12.5	17.3	29.6	25.0	0.1
NR	8.1	0.6	1.1	1.0	1.5	99.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 4. Preferred Number of Children at Present Age of Wife by Age of Wife

Preferred No. of Children	Total	Age of Wife 12-24	25-34	35-44	44 +	NR
0-2	7.4	12.6	6.5	5.4	9.9	0.0
3-4	27.0	46.3	35.4	22.9	23.0	0.1
5-6	28.0	29.4	35.3	30.0	26.1	0.1
7 +	29.0	9.7	21.6	40.9	38.6	0.4
NR	8.6	2.1	1.2	0.8	2.4	99.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

while only 32.9% of those 45 and over prefer a family of that size.

Table 3, however, also shows wide differences by age in the number of children preferred. The attitudinal variable here is the "number of children desired by age 45, if you could start married life over, and have the number desired." The variable thus reflects the woman's desired number of children at what is virtually the completion of the child bearing years. 51.2% of those age 12-24 want 0-4 children. This is a substantially higher percentage than for any other age group. 40.5% of women age 25-34, 33.8% of women 35-44, and 39.0% of those 45 and over prefer four or less children. It is interesting to note the percentage of women in the 45 and over category desiring 0-4 children is larger than the percentage of women 35-44 desiring that number.

Finally, it should be pointed out that in all three tables the primary differences by age are in the 3-4 category rather than in the 0-2 category of number of children desired. Even in the youngest age groups, very few women consider the family of replacement size a desirable choice.

Socio-Economic Differentials of Ideal and Desired Family Size

In this section ideal and desired family size are related to variables that are generally considered indicators of socio-economic status: frequency of newspaper reading of both wife and husband, and family income. The concept of socio-economic status must be used with caution, however, since it was developed in modern Western societies, and is not totally applicable to developing countries. The frequency with which one reads the newspaper may be an accurate indicator of exposure to modern ideas through the media, but not a measure of a broader socio-economic status. For lack of a better term, socio-economic status will be used throughout this paper. Its limitations when applied to the Philippines, however, should be kept in mind.

Table 5 relates frequency of newspaper reading by the wife to ideal number of children, and shows an inverse relation between the two variables. Although there is very little difference by reading frequency in the percentage expressing 0-2 children as the ideal, there are quite large differences in the 3-4 category. 40.1% of those women who frequently read the newspaper give 3-4 as the ideal number of children, while only 20.3% of illiterate women think 3-4 are best. Also, only 17.8% of those in the "frequently" category choose 7 or more as the ideal

Table 5. Best No. of Children by Newspaper Reading of Wife (%)

		Best Number of Children				
Newspaper Reading	Total	0-2	3-4	5-6	7 +	NR
Frequently	100.0	2.5	40.1	39.4	17.8	0.2
Occasionally	100.0	3.7	27.3	43.5	25.2	0.3
Seldom,Never	100.0	2.6	28.7	39.8	28.3	0.6
Illiterate	100.0	2.5	20.3	36.5	40.0	0.6
No Response Can't Say	100.0	1.5	9.1	15.4	12.1	61.8

Table 6. Best No. of Children by Newspaper Reading of Husban (%)

		Best Number of Children				
Newspaper Reading	Total	0-2	3-4	5-6	7 +	NR
Frequently	100.0	2.6	37.1	42.7	17.5	0.2
Occasionally	100.0	3.3	26.4	42.5	27.6	0.2
Seldom,Never	100.0	3.0	27.2	38.9	30.4	0.6
Illiterate	100.0	1.9	20.9	35.5	41.0	0.7
No Response, Can't Say	100.0	2.2	19.8	27.7	20.2	30.1

Table 7. Best No. of Children by Family Income (%)

		Best Number of Children				
Income	Total	0-2	3-4	5-6	7 +	NR
- 500	100.0	3.2	23.7	35.7	36.8	0.6
500-999	100.0	3.2	24.4	40.7	31.1	0.6
1000-1999	100.0	2.5	27.1	40.5	29.3	0.6
2000-3999	100.0	2.6	32.4	41.2	23.1	0.6
4000 +	100.0	2.4	38.3	41.4	17.7	0.1

number, while 40.0% of the "illiterate" select 7 or more as the ideal. There is little difference between those who "occasionally" or "seldom or never" read the newspaper, both falling between the two extremes in ideal family size.

Table 6 gives similar, though not as clear-cut, results as Table 5. This table relates ideal family size to the newspaper reading frequency of the husband. The respondent on the question, as on all questions of the survey, was the wife, thus affecting the accuracy of the response. Nearly one fourth of the responses on newspaper reading of the husband fall into the category "can't say or no response". The results, nevertheless, are quite similar in this table to those in Table 5, and indicate a smaller ideal family size is associated with greater frequency of newspaper reading.

Table 7 relates ideal family size attitudes to family income. Although the relationship is not strong, there is a trend to smaller ideal family size as income increases. There is almost no difference by income in the percentage choosing 0-2 as the ideal. The percentage giving 3-4 as the ideal, however, increases from 23.7% for the lowest income group to 38.3% for the highest income group. Also, 36.8% of those in the lowest income group choose 7 or more as the ideal number of children, while only 17.7% of those in the highest income group give 7 or more as the best number. It should be pointed out, though, that the modal ideal number of children for every income level is 5-6.

Tables 8-10 relate desired family size to the same three socio-economic variables as above. The question used here is the number of children desired by age 45. Table 8 gives children desired by frequency of newspaper reading of the wife. A strong relationship is indicated here, just as it was with ideal family size. Again there is little differentiation by reading frequency in the percentage desiring 0-2 children, but considerable differences in those desiring 3-4. 43.4% of those reading the newspaper "frequently" desire 3-4 children by age 45, while only 24.3% of those who are "illiterate" desire 3-4 children. The reverse trend is seen in those desiring 7 or more children, with the percentage increasing as the frequency of newspaper reading declines.

Table 9 gives the desired number of children by frequency of newspaper reading by the husband, and is similar to Table 8. It is limited once again by the fact that almost one fourth of the responses on the question on newspaper reading of the husband fall into the category of "no response or can't say."

Table 8. Children Desired, Age 45 by Newspaper Reading, Wife (%)

Newspaper Reading	Total	Children Desired, Age 45 0-2	3-4	5-6	7 +	NR
Frequently	100.0	7.4	43.4	34.1	14.4	0.8
Occasionally	100.0	7.7	37.9	34.0	19.3	1.2
Seldom, Never	100.0	6.9	30.5	39.4	22.4	0.8
Illiterate	100.0	5.8	24.3	37.4	30.4	2.1
NR, Can't Say	100.0	2.6	10.5	14.8	10.4	61.7

Table 9. Children Desired, Age 45 by Newspaper Reading, Husband (%)

Newspaper Reading	Total	Children Desired, Age 45 0-2	3-4	5-6	7 +	NR
Frequently	100.0	6.8	41.5	35.8	15.2	0.6
Occasionally	100.0	7.3	32.1	37.7	22.0	0.9
Seldom, Never	100.0	6.1	30.7	38.3	24.1	0.8
Illiterate	100.0	5.7	23.3	37.8	31.1	2.1
NR, Can't Say	100.0	6.2	23.3	24.9	14.9	30.7

Table 10. Children Desired, Age 45 by Family Income (%)

Income	Total	Children Desired, Age 45 0-2	3-4	5-6	7 +	NR
- 500	100.0	8.4	30.1	36.6	23.1	1.7
500-999	100.0	7.1	29.0	38.6	24.1	1.3
1000-1999	100.0	6.0	30.3	38.0	24.7	0.9
2000-3999	100.0	6.5	35.2	37.1	20.4	0.8
4000 +	100.0	6.1	41.8	33.3	18.0	0.8

Table 10 does not show any clear-cut differentials in the number of children desired by income level. Of the income groups, however, the highest group shows the lowest persentage desiring 7 or more children, and the highest percentage desiring 3-4 children. The modal desired number of children is 5-6 for every income group, though.

Ideal vs. Actual FAmily Size

Tables 11 and 12 show ideal family size by two measures of actual number of children in the family. Both tables indicate a positive relationship between the ideal and actual variables. In both tables, however, the modal ideal number of children is 5-6 for every category of actual number of children. This indicates a favorable attitude toward large families regardless of the number of children born or presently living in the household.

There is little change in the relationship when age of the woman is controlled for, as in Table 13. Here again the modal ideal number remains 5-6 regardless of the age of the woman and the number of children living in the family.

Tables 14 and 15 relate ideal family size to actual

Table 11. Best Number of Children by Total Children Living (%)

		Total Children Living				
Best No. of Children	Total	0-2	3-4	5-6	7 +	NR
0-2	2.6	5.4	1.8	1.7	2.1	0.0
3-4	26.0	35.5	32.9	19.6	20.4	0.2
5-6	37.0	36.4	38.4	50.2	35.0	0.1
7 +	26.8	22.1	26.5	28.1	41.8	0.2
NR	7.6	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.7	99.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 12. Best Number of Children by Total Children in Household (%)

		Total Children in Household				
Best No. of Children	Total	0-2	3-4	5-6	7 +	NR
0-2	2.6	4.4	1.8	1.7	2.2	0.0
3-4	26.0	33.2	30.4	18.9	19.3	0.1
5-6	37.0	36.4	40.3	48.3	35.5	0.1
7 +	26.8	25.4	27.1	30.6	42.1	0.7
NR	7.6	0.6	0.4	0.5	0.9	99.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 13. Best No. of Children by Children Living and by Age of Wife (%)

Age of Wife	Best No. of Children	Total	Total Children Living				
			0-2	3-4	5-6	7 +	NR
12-24	0-2	3.1	3.1	2.1	17.6	0.0	0.0
	3-4	35.4	36.2	33.1	23.5	0.0	0.0
	5-6	36.2	35.8	36.6	58.8	0.0	0.0
	7 +	25.1	24.7	28.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
25-34	0-2	2.4	4.5	1.5	1.5	1.9	0.0
	3-4	29.1	37.3	30.4	19.3	21.6	0.0
	5-6	40.9	35.6	41.1	48.4	35.5	0.0
	7 +	27.1	22.3	26.5	30.4	39.8	0.0
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	0.0
35-44	0-2	2.3	6.1	1.5	1.2	2.1	0.0
	3-4	26.0	34.1	37.0	18.2	21.0	0.0
	5-6	39.8	36.8	38.1	53.6	30.7	0.0
	7 +	31.5	22.0	23.3	26.7	45.7	0.0
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	0.0
45 +	0-2	3.6	8.4	2.5	2.1	2.0	0.0
	3-4	26.2	33.4	33.4	20.9	19.8	0.0
	5-6	39.9	37.7	34.8	48.8	38.5	0.0
	7 +	29.5	19.2	28.5	27.6	39.0	0.0
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	0.0

Table 14. Best Number of Children by Total Children Living and by Frequency of Newspaper Reading of Wife (%)

Read Freq.			Total Children Living			
	Best No. of Children	Total	0-2	3-4	5-6	7 +
Frqntly						
	0-2	2.5	4.3	1.1	1.1	3.2
	3-4	40.1	51.2	41.7	32.0	26.9
	5-6	39.4	32.8	41.0	49.9	37.5
	7 +	17.8	11.8	15.8	16.8	32.4
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Occasionally						
	0-2	3.7	7.0	2.2	2.4	2.3
	3-4	27.3	34.2	33.6	18.1	17.3
	5-6	43.5	40.2	39.8	58.4	38.8
	7 +	25.2	18.2	23.7	21.1	41.7
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Seldom,Never						
	0-2	2.6	4.2	2.1	1.6	2.1
	3-4	28.7	35.6	34.3	20.5	22.2
	5-6	39.8	35.6	38.9	51.1	33.4
	7 +	28.3	24.3	24.2	26.1	40.9
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Illiterate						
	0-2	2.5	6.6	1.2	1.0	1.3
	3-4	20.3	26.3	24.2	12.6	16.7
	5-6	36.5	35.6	33.7	43.4	34.1
	7 +	40.0	29.7	40.3	42.9	47.9
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 15. Best Number of Children by Total Children Living and by Income (%)

Income	Best No. of Children	Total Children Living				
		Total	0-2	3-4	5-6	7 +
- 500	0-2	3.2	5.1	2.5	0.3	4.1
	3-4	23.7	27.4	25.3	17.1	20.2
	5-6	35.7	37.8	32.0	44.1	26.8
	7 +	36.8	28.9	39.7	37.9	48.8
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
500-999						
	0-2	3.2	6.9	1.0	3.2	0.9
	3-4	24.4	30.2	29.3	15.4	19.4
	5-6	40.7	38.3	41.6	48.3	33.0
	7 +	31.1	24.3	27.4	32.7	45.6
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1000-1999						
	0-2	2.5	5.0	1.7	1.5	2.0
	3-4	27.1	37.1	32.0	17.7	19.7
	5-6	40.5	33.0	40.1	54.9	34.8
	7 +	29.3	23.7	25.9	25.6	42.9
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
2000-3999						
	0-2	2.6	4.8	2.0	1.8	1.8
	3-4	32.4	43.9	40.0	24.1	20.6
	5-6	41.2	35.4	39.7	53.2	38.0
	7 +	23.1	15.5	17.9	20.4	38.3
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 15. (continued)

Income			Total Children Living			
	Best No. of Children	Total	0-2	3-4	5-6	7 +
4000 +	0-2	2.4	3.9	2.0	1.2	2.5
	3-4	38.3	53.0	47.0	29.3	24.1
	5-6	41.4	36.9	38.9	48.5	41.9
	7 +	17.7	6.2	11.8	21.0	31.2
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note. The category "No Response" has been removed from the tables where three variables are cross tabulated, since the percentages in the cells are negligible. Some columns, therefore, do not add to 100% exactly.

number of children, controlling for two measures of socioeconomic status. Table 14 controls for "frequency of newspaper reading of the wife", and indicates a stronger relationship between ideal and actual family size as the frequency of newspaper reading increases. Those in the "illiterate" category show a very weak relationship between ideal and actual family size. Table 15 controls for family income, and gives similar results as Table 14. At the higher income levels, the relationship between actual and ideal number of children is considerably stronger, as indicated by the larger percentages in the diagonal cells of the subtables.

Desired vs. Actual Family Size

There is a strong positive relationship between desired number of children and actual number of children in the family, as would be expected. Tables 16 and 17 relate desired family size to two measures of actual family size. In both cases there is a strong positive relationship, with increased actual family size associated with increased desired family size.

It can be seen from Table 16 that 52.2% of those in the 0-2 child category desire 0-4 children by age 45, if they could have the number desired. This percentage

Table 16. Children Desired, Age 45 by Total Children in Household (%)

Children Desired	Total	Total Children in Household 0-2	3-4	5-6	7 +	NR
0-2	6.4	12.4	3.7	3.0	2.5	0.1
3-4	29.9	39.8	41.2	14.5	12.2	0.3
5-6	34.6	31.1	37.5	56.8	24.0	0.1
7 +	21.0	15.0	16.8	25.2	59.8	0.4
NR	8.1	1.7	0.8	0.5	1.5	99.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 17. Children Desired, Age 45 by Total Children Living (%)

Children Desired	Total	Total Children Living 0-2	3-4	5-6	7 +	NR
0-2	6.4	15.4	3.6	3.1	3.7	0.1
3-4	29.9	43.8	46.9	15.5	14.9	0.0
5-6	34.6	29.2	35.1	60.5	25.7	0.2
7 +	21.0	10.1	13.0	20.4	54.6	0.2
NR	8.1	1.5	1.3	0.5	1.1	99.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

declines as actual number increases, and only 14.7% of those with 7 or more children desire to have 4 or less, if they had the opportunity. Also, those with 2 or less children have a modal desired family size of 3-4, while those with 3-6 children have a modal desired family size of 5-6. Those with 7 or more children have a modal desired family size of 7 or more as well.

Table 17 relates total children living to desired family size, and gives similar results as Table 16. 59.2% of those with 2 or less children desire 0-4 children by age 45, while only 18.6% of those with 5 or more children living desire 4 or less.

When controlled for age, as in Tables 18 and 19, the relationship between actual and preferred family size is shown to be the strongest at the older ages. Table 18 indicates that as age increases, the responses on preferred number of children are much more heavily concentrated in the same category as the actual number of children. For ages 45 and over, the diagonal cells for 3-4, 5-6, and 7 & over children contain over 80% of the responses for their respective columns. By that age, then, the vast majority of women say they prefer the same number of children as they actually have.

Table 20 relates total living children with preferred

Table 18. Preferred Number of Children at Present Age of Wife by Total Children Born Alive and by Age of Wife

Age of Wife	Children Preferred	Total Children Born Alive				
		Total	0-2	3-4	5-6	7 +
12-24	0-2	12.6	15.7	1.6	8.6	0.0
	3-4	46.3	45.9	51.9	2.9	100.0
	5-6	29.4	27.1	34.5	60.0	0.0
	7 +	9.7	8.8	11.9	20.0	0.0
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
25-34	0-2	6.5	22.5	0.9	0.7	0.2
	3-4	35.4	47.4	56.6	4.7	5.6
	5-6	35.3	20.6	27.3	73.3	8.8
	7 +	21.6	7.1	14.4	20.8	84.0
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
35-44	0-2	5.4	40.2	0.1	0.7	0.5
	3-4	22.9	36.1	68.9	4.5	6.0
	5-6	30.0	16.7	22.9	82.4	9.6
	7 +	40.9	2.7	7.4	12.4	83.7
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
45 +	0-2	9.9	49.9	1.4	1.3	0.8
	3-4	23.0	23.0	84.0	6.1	6.0
	5-6	26.1	14.9	9.6	84.4	12.3
	7 +	38.6	3.0	3.5	7.3	80.3
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 19. Preferred Number of Children at Present Age of Wife by Total Children and by Age of Wife (%)

Age of Wife	Children Preferred	Total	Total Children Living 0-2	3-4	5-6	7 +
12-24	0-2	12.6	15.1	2.8	0.0	0.0
	3-4	46.3	46.2	49.3	0.0	0.0
	5-6	29.4	27.0	35.9	82.4	0.0
	7 +	9.7	9.3	10.9	17.6	0.0
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
25-34						
	0-2	6.5	20.6	0.9	0.4	0.4
	3-4	35.4	45.6	51.1	5.8	3.1
	5-6	35.3	22.8	31.2	62.8	13.5
	7 +	21.6	9.0	16.0	30.2	81.9
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
35-44						
	0-2	5.4	35.2	0.1	0.5	0.6
	3-4	22.9	36.2	58.7	5.3	5.7
	5-6	30.0	19.5	27.7	60.0	11.0
	7 +	40.9	5.3	12.9	34.2	82.3
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
45 +						
	0-2	9.9	41.5	1.8	0.4	0.7
	3-4	23.0	28.6	56.5	6.9	6.3
	5-6	26.1	17.3	23.7	51.9	14.3
	7 +	38.6	5.0	17.0	39.8	77.8
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 20. Preferred Number of Children at Present Age of Wife by Total Children Living and by Frequency of Newspaper Reading of the Wife

Read Freq.			Total Children Living			
Frqntly	Children Preferred	Total	0-2	3-4	5-6	7 +
	0-2	10.1	30.0	0.2	0.5	0.9
	3-4	36.9	46.9	67.2	6.0	6.6
	5-6	28.3	17.5	25.5	68.3	8.9
	7 +	23.8	3.3	6.5	25.2	83.7
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Occasionally						
	0-2	8.3	25.4	0.8	0.7	0.9
	3-4	32.5	44.9	54.8	6.9	7.3
	5-6	31.1	20.8	32.2	62.5	13.5
	7 +	26.7	6.0	11.0	29.1	78.2
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Seldom,Never						
	0-2	7.7	25.5	1.8	0.5	0.6
	3-4	27.7	38.9	53.8	5.6	5.4
	5-6	32.2	25.4	29.4	60.7	12.1
	7 +	31.2	7.0	14.7	32.7	80.9
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Illiterate						
	0-2	7.7	29.7	0.8	0.1	0.6
	3-4	24.3	31.5	47.5	5.8	5.3
	5-6	26.4	19.8	25.3	46.5	14.1
	7 +	39.1	12.5	24.9	46.7	78.9
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 21. Preferred Number of Children at Present Age of Wife by Total Children Living and by Income

Income			Total Children Living			
- 500	Children Preferred	Total	0-2	3-4	5-6	7 +
	0-2	9.7	25.7	0.8	0.9	0.7
	3-4	29.8	36.1	50.9	3.8	4.9
	5-6	29.0	23.4	28.2	53.3	10.5
	7 +	29.3	10.6	19.1	40.5	82.9
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
500-999						
	0-2	8.2	26.1	2.0	0.4	0.2
	3-4	27.6	37.8	48.8	5.6	7.5
	5-6	30.6	23.4	33.7	51.9	8.7
	7 +	31.3	7.4	14.5	41.6	81.9
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1000-1999						
	0-2	7.5	26.6	1.3	0.2	1.6
	3-4	26.9	38.8	51.1	7.8	4.6
	5-6	31.0	23.3	27.1	60.0	15.5
	7 +	33.7	9.6	19.5	31.9	77.6
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 21. (continued)

Income	Children Preferred	Total	Total Children Living			
			0-2	3-4	5-6	7 +
2000-3999						
	0-2	6.8	25.6	0.7	0.3	0.1
	3-4	30.1	44.1	61.7	5.1	6.1
	5-6	31.1	21.4	27.7	62.6	16.2
	7 +	30.4	3.7	9.6	31.4	77.3
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
4000 +						
	0-2	7.5	31.0	0.0	0.6	0.0
	3-4	34.0	50.7	68.6	8.0	6.3
	5-6	28.2	15.2	24.4	66.9	10.7
	7 +	29.5	0.8	6.3	24.6	83.0
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

number of children at the present age of the wife, controlling for the frequency of the newspaper reading by the wife. Table 21 controls for family income. In Table 20 the strongest relationship exists for those who frequently read the newspaper. In Table 21 the strongest relationship holds for those in the higher income brackets, as evidenced by the higher percentages in the diagonal cells of that subtable. This is essentially the same trend we saw in the previous section when actual and "ideal" family size were related, controlling for the same socio-economic variables. At the higher socio-economic levels, or in those groups which are more exposed to modern ideas, there is a stronger relationship between actual and ideal or desired family size.

The strong positive relationship between stated family size preferences and actual number of children does not mean we must assume causality here. Even if we do assume a causal relationship exists, we cannot be sure of the direction. In the developed nations of the world where couples consciously control the number of children they have, it has been shown that desired family size is a major causal factor of actual family size. In a more traditional society like the Philippines, however, such a causal relationship does not necessarily exist.

The number of children a couple have is more a result of seemingly unexplained factors and less a function of a conscious effort to have a certain number than in a modern society. On a survey such as this, the number of children stated as desired by a respondent may be the first number to come to mind without thoroughly considering the question. In other cases the response may be designed to simply support previous child bearing practices, resulting in family size preferences being highly correlated with actual family size.

One item on the survey concerned with the respondent's attitude toward actual family size asked the following question:

"Is the present number of children sufficient?"

Table 22 shows the responses to that question cross classified by actual number of living children in the family, with the age of the wife controlled for. The results are not surprising, in that very few of those in the younger age groups indicate a desire for fewer children, regardless of the number they presently have. In the older age groups as well, there are few who desire a smaller family, even with as many as 7 or more children living. Of those age35-44, only 19.7% with 7 or more children want

Table 22. "Is Present Number of Children Sufficient?" by total Children Living and by Age of Wife

Age of Wife			Total Children Living			
	Sufficient Children ?	Total	0-2	3-4	5-6	7 +
12-24	Sufficient	17.4	12.0	36.6	64.7	0.0
	Want Less	0.7	0.1	3.2	0.0	0.0
	Want More	63.7	64.9	60.2	35.3	0.0
	NR	18.3	23.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
25-34						
	Sufficient	46.0	19.8	48.1	67.0	72.2
	Want Less	3.7	0.5	1.8	7.0	18.1
	Want More	45.5	63.6	49.9	26.0	9.7
	NR	4.8	16.1	0.2	0.0	0.0
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
35-44						
	Sufficient	66.1	31.7	64.2	80.0	70.6
	Want Less	9.4	0.8	2.2	7.9	19.7
	Want More	21.3	46.1	33.7	12.1	9.4
	NR	3.2	21.5	0.0	0.0	0.3
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
45 +						
	Sufficient	71.7	47.7	82.7	83.1	71.8
	Want Less	11.3	0.1	3.2	11.5	25.2
	Want More	11.5	28.6	13.3	4.9	3.0
	NR	5.5	23.6	0.9	0.4	0.0
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

fewer. The comparable figure for the 45 and over age group is 25.2%. There is little expressed dissatisfaction, then, by the women of the Philippines for the large families they now have. We would hesitate again, however, in taking this to mean a conscious approval on their part for the size of their families. It may just never have occurred to them that they could express dissatisfaction with the number of children they have.

Infant Mortality and Desired Family Size

In this section, actual and desired family size are related to the experience of infant mortality in the family. The hypothesis here is that declines in fertility will occur more rapidly in developing countries when couples realize that recent declines in infant mortality mean a greater percentage of children born will survive to maturity. If a family has lost one or more children, it seems likely that they will want to have more children to serve as a buffer in the event of additional children dying. Parents who have not lost any children should be more secure in having the number they can adequately provide for.

Tables 23 and 24 relate total deceased children in the family to the number of children born and the number

Table 23. Total Children Born Alive by Total Deceased Children (%)

Children Born	Total	Total Deceased Children 0	1	2	3 +	NR
0-2	23.5	35.5	7.1	0.9	0.0	0.0
3-4	23.1	29.6	22.6	10.1	2.2	0.0
5-6	18.8	19.4	27.4	20.8	10.5	0.0
7 +	27.5	15.5	42.7	68.2	86.5	0.1
NR	7.2	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.8	99.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 24. Total Living Children by Total Deceased Children (%)

Children Living	Total	Total Deceased Children 0	1	2	3 +	NR
0-2	26.2	35.7	15.7	10.8	7.7	0.0
3-4	26.1	29.6	27.2	20.8	25.1	0.0
5-6	21.0	19.4	26.7	31.0	33.2	0.0
7 +	19.6	15.4	30.3	37.3	34.1	0.0
NR	7.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

living in the family, respectively. There is a strong positive relationship in both tables, as would be expected. From Table 23, the modal number of children born is 3-4 for those who have no deceased children, 5-6 for those with 1 deceased child, and 7 or more for those with 2 or more deceased children. Table 24 gives similar results, with the modal number of living children being 3-4 only for those with no deceased children. These results are not surprising since there is obviously a greater chance of one or more children dying as the number of children increases, just as the chances of more children surviving are increased as you increase the number born.

Tables 25 and 26 relate total children deceased to attitudes on ideal and desired family size. Here, too, the relationship is quite strong in both tables. In Table 25 we see that 33.4% of those with no deceased children think 0-4 is the best number of children, while those with one or more deceased children choose 0-4 as the best number only 25-26% of the time. Also, only 25.7% of those with no deceased children think 7 or more children are ideal, while 39.5% of those with 3 or more deceased children select 7 or more as the ideal family size.

From Table 26, 43.5% of those with no deceased

Table 25. Best Number of Children by Total Deceased Children (%)

Best No. of Children	Total	Total Deceased Children 0	1	2	3 +	NR
0-2	2.6	3.3	2.2	1.8	1.3	0.0
3-4	26.0	30.1	23.1	23.7	24.8	0.2
5-6	37.0	40.3	41.9	35.9	34.4	0.1
7 +	26.8	25.7	32.2	38.1	39.5	0.1
NR	7.6	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.1	99.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 26. Children Desired, Age 45 by Total Deceased Children (%)

Children Desired	Total	Total Deceased Children 0	1	2	3 +	NR
0-2	6.4	7.6	5.4	5.3	5.5	0.1
3-4	29.9	35.9	24.8	23.3	24.7	0.0
5-6	34.6	36.9	39.7	35.4	36.4	0.2
7 +	21.0	18.5	28.9	35.0	32.5	0.1
NR	8.1	1.2	1.2	1.0	1.0	99.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

children desire 4 or less children by age 45, while only about thirty percent of those in the other three groups give four or less as the desired number. It should be noted, however, that 5-6 is the modal desired number of children regardless of the number of children deceased. This is also true of the ideal number shown in Table 25.

As well as being positively related to the number of deceased children, the ideal and desired family size are also positively related to the actual number of children living in the family, as was shown in a previous section of this paper. To determine how much of the effect of deceased children on ideal and desired family size is due merely to differences in the actual number of children in the family, Tables 27 and 28 are shown. Table 27 relates ideal family size to number of children deceased, controlling for total children living in the family. Table 28 relates desired number of children to children deceased, controlling also for total children living.

Both tables indicate there is little relationship between the number of children deceased and the couple's expressed ideal and desired family size, when the number of living children is controlled for. In each of the subtables, there is little difference in the percentages

Table 27. Best Number of Children by Total Deceased Children and by Total Living Children (%)

Children Living			Total Deceased Children			
	Best No. of Children	Total	0	1	2	3 +
0-2	0-2	5.4	6.1	1.9	0.0	0.0
	3-4	35.5	36.4	26.9	41.7	27.3
	5-6	36.4	35.9	42.6	26.8	45.5
	7 +	22.1	21.0	28.6	31.5	27.3
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
3-4	0-2	1.8	1.9	2.1	0.0	2.0
	3-4	32.9	35.3	26.5	29.1	25.9
	5-6	38.4	38.2	41.1	38.1	33.1
	7 +	26.5	24.4	29.0	31.6	38.6
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
5-6	0-2	1.7	1.8	1.1	3.3	0.9
	3-4	19.6	19.1	19.9	18.7	22.3
	5-6	50.2	54.8	48.5	38.8	40.7
	7 +	28.1	23.9	30.3	38.3	36.1
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
7 +	0-2	2.1	1.5	3.6	2.1	1.5
	3-4	20.4	19.1	20.9	19.7	25.8
	5-6	35.0	36.4	36.3	34.8	26.7
	7 +	41.8	41.8	38.6	43.5	46.0
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 28. Children Desired, Age 45 by Total Deceased Children and by Total Living Children (%)

Children Living	Children Desired	Total	Total Deceased Children			
			0	1	2	3 +
0-2						
	0-2	15.4	16.1	12.9	7.9	10.4
	3-4	43.8	44.8	38.5	44.9	22.1
	5-6	29.2	28.2	33.8	32.3	44.2
	7 +	10.1	9.2	14.8	11.8	23.4
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
3-4						
	0-2	3.6	2.7	5.1	10.2	4.0
	3-4	46.9	51.4	38.6	27.9	37.1
	5-6	35.1	34.5	35.6	45.5	29.9
	7 +	13.0	10.2	19.0	15.2	26.7
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
5-6						
	0-2	3.1	2.7	4.7	2.8	2.4
	3-4	15.5	14.4	14.2	18.5	20.5
	5-6	60.5	67.0	58.4	43.8	47.6
	7 +	20.4	15.6	22.5	33.9	28.3
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
7 +						
	0-2	3.7	3.1	2.6	3.9	8.5
	3-4	14.9	12.5	14.8	18.5	20.2
	5-6	25.7	23.7	29.9	23.6	28.4
	7 +	54.6	59.6	50.6	53.8	42.8
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

in the columns from those in the marginals. It would appear that the attitudes expressed on ideal and desired family size depend much more on the number of children living than on the number of children who have died.

Finally, there was one item on the survey concerned with attitudes on future infant mortality in the Philippines, regardless of the family's actual experience. Each respondent was asked to estimate whether future levels of infant mortality would be lower, higher, or the same as present levels. The responses to the question are as follows:

Estimates of Future Infant Mortality

Response	%
Higher	26.5
Same	9.9
Lower	32.3
Don't Know	23.8
No Response	7.5
Total	100.0

The use of the variable is limited from the outset by the fact that over 30% of the respondents answered "don't know" or "no response" to the question.

Tables 29 and 30 show there is little relationship between estimates of future infant mortality and ideal and desired family size. Table 31 relates estimates of infant mortality to ideal family size, controlling for

Table 29. Best Number of Children by Estimate of Future Levels of Infant Mortality (%)

Best No. of Children	Estimate of Future Infant Mortality Total	Higher	Same	Lower	Don't Know	NR
0-2	2.6	2.1	1.8	2.7	4.4	0.0
3-4	26.0	28.1	27.4	31.2	24.0	0.7
5-6	37.0	39.6	40.0	38.0	42.8	1.1
7 +	26.8	30.1	30.5	27.9	28.4	0.4
NR	7.6	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.4	97.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 30. Children Desired, Age 45 by Estimate of Future Levels of Infant Mortality (%)

Children Desired	Estimate of Future Infant Mortality Total	Higher	Same	Lower	Don't Know	NR
0-2	6.4	5.5	5.7	7.7	7.8	0.1
3-4	29.9	31.9	29.6	35.1	29.7	1.7
5-6	34.6	38.8	39.4	33.9	39.2	1.4
7 +	21.0	22.9	24.7	22.6	21.4	1.2
NR	8.1	0.8	0.7	0.6	1.9	95.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 31. Best Number of Children by Estimate of Future Levels of Infant Mortality and by Total Children Born (%)

Children Born	Best No. of Children	Estimate of Future Infant Mortality					
		Total	Higher	Same	Lower	Don't Know	NR
0-2	0-2	5.8	4.6	3.3	4.5	9.7	0.0
	3-4	36.0	36.9	30.7	42.4	30.0	13.6
	5-6	36.4	36.9	37.0	32.3	41.3	9.1
	7 +	21.2	21.7	29.0	20.8	18.4	4.5
	NR	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	72.7
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
3-4	0-2	1.9	0.5	1.5	3.0	2.0	0.0
	3-4	34.4	32.8	36.5	37.7	31.8	13.6
	5-6	38.0	39.6	36.8	35.2	40.3	22.7
	7 +	25.4	27.0	25.2	24.2	25.9	4.5
	NR	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	59.1
5-6	0-2	1.6	0.6	0.3	2.5	2.0	0.0
	3-4	20.8	21.6	18.6	24.8	15.2	11.1
	5-6	52.3	51.5	54.4	49.8	55.8	44.4
	7 +	24.9	26.3	26.7	22.5	26.5	0.0
	NR	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.6	44.4
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 31. (continued)

Children Born			Estimate of Future Infant Mortality				
	Best No. of Children	Total	Higher	Same	Lower	Don't Know	NR
7 +	0-2	2.0	2.2	1.9	1.3	3.1	0.0
	3-4	20.8	22.3	23.9	22.0	15.5	5.3
	5-6	35.6	34.7	34.4	36.5	36.7	5.3
	7 +	40.8	40.5	39.1	40.0	44.2	15.8
	NR	0.7	0.3	0.7	0.2	0.5	73.7
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 32. Best Number of Children by Estimate of Future Levels of Infant Mortality and by Total Deceased Children (%)

Children Deceased		Estimate of Future Infant Mortality					
	Best No. of Children	Total	Higher	Same	Lower	Know	NR
0	0-2	3.3	2.3	1.8	3.4	4.8	0.0
	3-4	30.1	30.7	28.5	34.1	25.4	11.1
	5-6	40.3	41.0	40.3	36.9	44.4	16.7
	7 +	25.7	26.0	29.1	25.5	24.9	1.9
	NR	0.6	0.0	0.3	0.1	0.4	70.4
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1	0-2	2.2	2.0	0.4	1.3	5.1	0.0
	3-4	23.1	22.8	20.7	24.9	21.9	13.3
	5-6	41.9	37.4	46.5	44.7	42.3	6.7
	7 +	32.2	37.8	32.4	28.7	30.6	20.0
	NR	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	60.0
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
2	0-2	1.8	1.4	3.5	1.4	2.2	0.0
	3-4	23.7	22.3	26.5	25.8	21.6	0.0
	5-6	35.9	40.7	34.5	35.6	30.4	50.0
	7 +	38.1	34.9	35.4	37.2	44.7	50.0
	NR	0.5	0.8	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 32. (continued)

Children Deceased		Estimate of Future Infant Mortality					
	Best No. of Children	Total	Higher	Same	Lower	Don't Know	NR
3 +	0-2	1.3	1.4	3.3	1.3	0.0	0.0
	3-4	24.8	25.2	32.5	27.6	14.8	0.0
	5-6	34.4	31.4	30.0	34.6	40.2	100.0
	7 +	39.5	42.1	34.2	36.5	44.5	0.0
	NR	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

number of children born alive, while Table 32 controls for number of children deceased. These tables also indicate no relationship within any of the subtables.

Our data, then, show little if any effect of attitudes about future levels of infant mortality on desired or ideal family size. The high nonresponse rate not only complicates analysis of the data, but also casts doubt on the validity of the responses that were given. It seems likely that the question was interpreted very differently among the respondents, since its intent is vague at best. It asks a fairly sophisticated question of persons who do not have the factual knowledge to answer it correctly, and who in most cases probably do not even understand the question itself.

One final point might be made in regard to the relation of mortality to desired family size. The hypothesis made here was not that mortality would affect the number of surviving children desired, but that it would affect the births desired. The fact that the questions on the survey did not distinguish between births desired and survivors desired may be the reason that no relationship was found between mortality and desired family size.

Discussion

The results of the present series of cross tabulations generally support previous findings on Philippine attitudes toward ideal and desired family size. In regard to age differentials, the results are in agreement with Concepcion's findings which showed that younger women prefer smaller families. There is still little room for encouragement, however, since the differences between younger and older women are only slight, and a negligible number prefer families of replacement size. There are merely a greater percentage of women in the younger ages who prefer families of 3-4 children. If we take this as a desirable trend, fertility will be lowered only if these smaller desired families can be translated into smaller actual families. As yet it can not be necessarily assumed that such a translation will occur.

The results of the cross tabulations of ideal and desired family size with socio-economic variables indicate some encouraging trends for future fertility declines. Those women who more frequently read the newspaper show a desire for smaller families. Income differentials are not so clear-cut, but there does seem to be a slight trend to families of a more medium size (by Philippine standards) in the upper income groups. In the higher income groups, there are fewer who want families of replacement size, but there are also fewer who want seven or more children. If we can assume that those in the higher education and income groups represent an emerging middle class in the Philippines, these results would seem encouraging for future fertility declines. As economic development continues on a broader scale throughout the country, it seems likely that the attitudes expressed by those in the upper socio-economic groups will be adopted by a larger cross-section of the population.

The study showed a strong positive relationship between actual family size and both ideal and desired family size. The determination of causality in such tables is difficult, however, since the results can be interpreted as either that "couples are having the number of children they desire", or "they merely state as desired the number of children they already have." It has been assumed in this paper that, for a country such as the Philippines, the latter explanation seems more likely to be the case. Also, in this survey, the strongest relationship between ideal and actual family size, as well as between desired and actual family size, was in the upper socio-economic groups, as measured by the variables on newspaper reading and income.

Within the sample surveyed, the experience of having one or more children die does not seem to be a strong motivation for having larger than average size families. It was hypothesized that the loss of a child might give added incentive to a couple to catch up or even have additional children to serve as a buffer against possible future losses. This does not seem to be the case from the results of this survey. When the number of living children in the family are taken into consideration, there is very little effect of having lost a child on a couple's desired family size. Assuming the converse is true, this would indicate that recent mortality declines are not seen by couples to mean that they can bear fewer children than before and still have the number they desire.

Finally, the item on the survey on the respondent's attitudes on future levels of infant mortality was judged to be of no use for purposes of fertility analysis. The question was obviously meaningless to a large percentage of those surveyed. It demanded of the respondent a degree of sophistication which could not be expected of the average person.

This paper has related Philippine attitudes on ideal and desired family size to a series of other related variables. While generally consistent with previous studies on Philippine family size attitudes, the paper does note some encouraging trends in differentials by age and socio-economic status. Additional studies will be necessary to analyze fully the implications of these findings for future fertility declines.

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